

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 IO-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 EURE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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ACDA-05 SY-05 A-01 OPR-02 OMB-01 DHA-02 SAJ-01 AID-05

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3867

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T LISBON 4799

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJ: GOP INITIATIVE IN ANGOLA

SUMMARY: FONMIN RUIVO OUTLINED TO ME AUG 22 NEW GOP INITIATIVE ON ANGOLA. THIS WOULD INCLUDE PROMOTING INTERNAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THREE FACTIONS, A CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION IN PORTUGUESE HANDS, AND THE NEGOTIATED EVACUATION OF LUANDA BY MPLA MILITARY. WOULD ALSO INVOLVE COMMUNICATING WITH UN THAT ALVOR ACCORD SUSPENDED, BUT INDEPENDENCE DATE WOULD BE MAINTAINED. THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY HUMANITARIAN APPEAL, BUT GOP DOES NOT INTEND TO "INTERNATIONALIZE" ANGOLAN PROBLEM. FONMIN CHARGED FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA, BUT DID NOT INCLUDE USG. SAID GOP POLICY WOULD BE ONE OF STRICT NEUTRALITY, AND WAS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH U.S. GOALS. HE INTENDED TO MAKE SIMILAR APPROACH TO OTHER

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"BIG POWERS" AND TO NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY

1. NEW FOREIGN MINISTER MARIO RUIVO SUMMONED ME ON AUGUST 22 TO EXPRESS GOP'S CONCERN ABOUT ANGOLAN SITUATION. HE SAID GOP HAD CONCRETE FACTS ON FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND THAT SITUATION NOW EXCEEDED GOP'S PRESENT CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH IT. HENCE GOP INTENDED TO TAKE NEW INITIATIVES, BOTH IN THE INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL AREAS.

2. INTERNAL INITIATIVES: GOP WAS UNDERTAKING TO RENEW DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE THREE MOVEMENTS IN AN EFFORT TO BRING THEM INTO AGREEMENT, AT LEAST UNTIL INDEPENDENCE. RUIVO WAS DOUBTFUL THAT THIS DIALOGUE WOULD MEET WITH MUCH SUCCESS. GOP INTENDED TO BRING BACK THE PORTUGUESE MINISTERS IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND SUBSTITUTE ALL MINISTERS BY DIRECTORS GENERAL. IT WOULD IN EFFECT BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNMENT. THE PORTUGUESE HIGH COMMISSIONER WOULD ACCUMULATE TO HIMSELF BOTH NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

3. PORTUGUESE POLICY WOULD BE ONE OF STRICT NEUTRALITY. "WE ARE NOT ON THE MPLA SIDE," HE VOLUNTEERED. WHEN I SAID WE WERE NOW CONFRONTED WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI WHERE MPLA MILITARY OCCUPIED LUANDA, RUIVO SAID PORTUGUESE INTENDED TO NEGOTIATE THE EVACUATION OF LUANDA BY ALL MPLA MILITARY FORCES AND ALLOW THE FREE RETURN OF CIVILIANS.

4. INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES: RUIVO SAID GOP INTENDED TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE UN SYG TO THE EFFECT THAT ALVOR ACCORD WAS NOT BEING FULFILLED AND WAS THEREFORE SUSPENDED. NEVERTHELESS GOP INTENDED TO MAINTAIN NOVEMBER 11 INDEPENDENCE DATE. GOP WOULD THEN COMMUNICATE SIMILAR MESSAGE TO SECURITY COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF OAU. THESE ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ALSO BE ASKED IF THEIR MEMBERS COULD PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. GOP SIMPLY WISHED TO GIVE A WARNING ON POLITICAL SITUATION; IT DID NOT INTEND TO INTERNATIONALIZE ANGOLAN PROBLEM. BUT HUMANITARIAN APPEAL WAS A DIRECT REQUEST FOR HELP.

6. I TOLD RUIVO THAT U.S. POLICY FOR ANGOLA ENCOMPASSED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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- A. TO END THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION.
- B. TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE UNDER A GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.
- C. TO ENCOURAGE AN EVEN-HANDED PORTUGUESE POLICY WHICH ACCORDS EQUAL TREATMENT TO ALL THREE LIBERATION GROUPS.
- D. TO AVOID ANGOLA'S BECOMING A SCENE FOR INCREASING MAJOR-POWER INVOLVEMENT.

E. TO PREVENT THE ANGOLAN SITUATION FROM DETERIORATING TO A POINT WHERE IT AFFECTS THE STABILITY OF OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN AREAS, PARTICULARLY THE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

F. TO ENCOURAGE A SOLUTION GUIDED BY PORTUGAL CONDUCTIVE TO A LONG-TERM, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANGOLA AND PORTUGAL.

7. I TOLD RUIVO THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO INTERFERENCE BY USG IN ANGOLA. IF HE HAD ANY INFORMATION TO THE CONTRARY I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN SEEING IT. RUIVO SAID HIS REFERENCE TO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE WAS NOT TO THE U.S. THE MOST BLATENT CASE WAS SOUTH AFRICA WHERE THEY HAD CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD OCCUPIED A PART OF SOUTHERN ANGOLA, NEAR CUNENE.

8. I TOLD MINISTER THAT I WAS PARTICULARLY GLAD TO HEAR THAT GOP INTENDED TO ADOPT A POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AND TO EVACUATE MPLA FORCES FROM LUANDA. QUITE FRANKLY OUR IMPRESSION WAS THAT GOP SUPPORTED THE MPLA AND THAT THIS HAD DESTROYED THE EQUILIBRIUM NEEDED TO MAINTAIN PEACE. RUIVO SAID THAT GOP HAD NOT OFFICIALLY SUPPORTED MPLA, ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED THAT CERTAIN "PERSONALITIES" AND GROUPS MAY HAVE DONE SO.

9. I ALSO NOTED THAT IF GOP POLICY WAS TO BE SUCCESSFUL THEY WOULD HAVE TO FIND A WAY TO STOP THE OVERT SHIPMENT OF ARMS BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES. WE EVEN HAD REPORTS OF MILITARY ADVISORS FROM ONE COUNTRY BEING PRESENT. RUIVO AGREED, AND SAID THEY HAD CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ANGOLA FROM PAPERS TAKEN OFF OF DEAD BODIES. HE ASSURED ME HE INTENDED TO MAKE DEMARCHE TO REPRESENTATIVES IN LISBON OF "OTHER BIG POWERS."

10. IN CLOSING, RUIVO STRESSED THAT GOP POLICY WAS ENTIRELY SECRET

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CONSISTENT WITH USG GOALS AS I HAD EXPLAINED THEM. HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR NEW GOP EFFORT TO SUCCEED IN ORDER TO AVOID A MORE GENERALIZED CONFLICT WHICH MIGHT EVEN EVENTUALLY "AFFECT THE POLICY OF DETENTE." SAID PRESIDENT INTENDED TO DISCUSS ANGOLA WITH ME LATER TODAY.
CARLUCCI

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